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562 578 593 neglects her and is surly with her, and even in his best temper seems to take pleasure in teasing her by snatching her pipe out of her mouth or hiding her tobacco. She is looked after by one of his other wives, and would, if she left him, have no one to take care of her material needs.

The fault for an unhappy marriage is not always with the man. The two following instances give the other side of the picture. I transcribe them from my file of 'personal histories'.

562 578 593 ●159 Dau is a gentle, unassuming man, very fond of his wife Ira, the daughter of Pinari. He is working as an indentured labourer, but on a plantation near enough for him to come to the village fairly often. But although he spends all his earnings on Ira, bringing her loin-cloths and beads, &c., she treats him abominably, refuses to look after him when he comes, will not cook for him, and is always nagging him. Sometimes she cooks food for him and leaves it for [578] another woman to give to him, which is a deliberate insult. She is a bad-tempered woman, and is always having quarrels with the other people, especially with her father, who once gave her a whipping because of the way she treated her husband. She is disliked in the village, and the other women told me that her husband could easily divorce her because she would not cook for him, but that he cared too much for her. She does not want to be divorced because he brings her presents. They have been married only a few months. This is definitely an unhappy marriage with the woman to blame, so far as I can ascertain.

[855 565] Rus, now aged somewhere in her twenties, was married to Keketaian of Ieta, while both were children, but he died before she had any children by him. She was subsequently married to Watawi, by whom she has a son Wanias, now aged about 3–4, who will some day be heir to the *tumaun*, and is completely spoilt by her and the whole village. She is a cross, sulky woman, and never got on well with Watawi, who is said to have tried his hardest to make her happy. Watawi became very ill, but she refused to nurse him or to provide him with food. Finally Mrs. Hadden, for whom Watawi had worked, took pity on him and kept him at her plantation, where she looked after him till he died. All the time he was there, Rus would never come near him, though he continually asked for her, neither would she let him see his baby, of whom he was passionately fond. When she was sent for, she returned angry messages that she couldn't be bothered with him. He had been

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dead for rather less than a year when I was at Kurtatchi. She had not remarried, and seemed to have no wish to do so. The general opinion was that she was a bad wife and because of her reputation for hardness would not easily get another husband. As the daughter of Matēv and mother of a future *tsunaun*, she has a position in the village in her own right, and Pinari, her *tsoa* (mother's brother), sees to it that she does not want. Here, again, the failure of the marriage seems to have been the fault of the woman, but in this case only one of the pair is personally known to me.

## CHOICE OF A MATE

The prearranged marriage makes it impossible to study the motives that enter into the choice of a mate in the case of young people. They have no choice in the matter. This applies to a man's first marriage always, and in the case of a *tsunaun* probably to the second and perhaps to the third. An older man takes other wives selected by himself according to his own preference, and if the woman he decides upon be young, she has probably little say in the matter, provided her relatives agree to the match. But if she definitely dislikes him, she may prevail on her people not to sanction it. Not infrequently a man chooses as his second wife the full (usually younger) sister of his first. This seems, as far as I could judge, to be a successful arrangement as a rule. I knew fairly intimately several families in which this had been done, and the two sisters seemed to get on very amicably together. In all the instances which came under my personal observation they each had a hut, but were next-door neighbours. In the case best known to me, the husband lived most of the time with the elder sister, but treated both well. There were two children of the first wife's living, the elder adolescent; three others had died. The second wife had one child; two had died. The two households worked and played together very pleasantly, so far as an outsider could judge.

The women would not admit that they had any say at all in the matter of a husband, even apart from the early betrothal. It did not occur to them to rebel against the customary procedure. But more than one man told me that one of his wives asked him to take her because she liked him so much, although, since I was never able to get this confirmed by the women, I cannot decide how much the statement owed to male vanity, or its denial to female

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The present chapter is chiefly concerned to record the state of affairs at the time when the investigation was made, in a village where, as far as the adolescent girls were concerned, the original conditions still prevailed.

Of the adolescent girls at Kurtatchi, by far the most interesting was Nawi, whose first menstruation ceremony I attended, and shall presently describe. She was very friendly, and often begged me to come with her to the taro garden she helped her mother to keep in order, or to the reef to look for shell-fish. She was betrothed to a boy at Ruri, who still wore the *upi*, and though he had been through the *watawutʃ* ceremony, she expected—and hoped—that it would be some time before his hair would be long enough for him to submit himself for the *wasipsip* ceremony at which the hair is cut and the hat finally removed. Until that had been done, Nawi had no need to think about her marriage.

Belonging to a family of *tsunaun*, she was a person of importance in the village—the original village of Kurtatchi, in which the *tsunaun* family were of the Naboin clan (their history has been given in Chap. II). Accordingly, certain customs had to be observed at various epochs in her life. The only one of these—other than the menstruation ritual—which occurred while I was at Kurtatchi, marked the stage at which she was permitted to go and collect from the bush the heavy spathes at the lower end of the leaf of the areca-palm. These, when dried, are used as receptacles for all kinds of purposes, and are mentioned continually in these pages by the native term *kōbū*. One day several of the women told me they were going out to collect a number of them in order to hold this ceremony for Nawi. They asked me to go with them. Nawi did not come. We went to a part of the bush about six miles off, where there were a number of wild areca-palms, and hunted in the underbush for fallen leaves from which to cut the spathes. One or two trees had been recently cut down, apparently on purpose. Part of the next day was spent in scraping clean the *kōbū* we brought back with us, and fixing sticks across them to keep them from curling up while drying. At dusk, the women all gathered in the centre of the village, where the *kōbū* were laid out. They held a *kōwa*, taking up the wheel-like formation which in ordinary dances is the prerogative of the men. Nawi danced too, but took no outstanding part in the proceedings. Afterwards we all went to her mother's hut and ate ceremonial pudding. This took place six

months before the menstruation ceremony, with which it was not in any way connected.

Owing to the impossibility of obtaining from these people any information whatever with regard to the passage of time, I cannot give the age at which girls begin to menstruate. To judge from their appearance, it would seem to vary considerably in different individuals. Nawi, with breasts not yet fully developed (see Pl. 31), had been expecting her first period for nine months or so before it actually occurred. Kiots, with little, if any, further advanced breast development, had been menstruating for more than a year. From the appearance of their breasts and pubic hair, I should estimate the ages of these girls to be somewhere about twelve or thirteen. Both had cut their second permanent molar teeth, the presence of which, among ourselves, is usually a sign that the twelfth birthday has been passed. Muben, looking decidedly older, with much fuller breasts, went through her first period about ten months earlier than Nawi, while I was told that Laia, whom I should have judged, from her looks, to be at least in her later teens, had started the flux at about the same time as Muben.

Unlike the first puberty ceremony for boys, which depends, not on their physiological development, but on the number of boys whose parents desire it, and upon the condition of the food supply, the puberty rite for girls is held for each girl singly, and at the actual time of her first period. There is also another difference. While all the boys, whether *tsunaun* or commoners, must undergo the same series of ceremonies in exactly the same manner, the puberty ceremony for girls is held, in its entirety, only for girls who are *tsunaun*. A very much shortened form, with important parts of the ritual omitted, is performed for commoners.

I will first give an account of the full ceremony for a *tsunaun*, as related to me by the women, chiefly by Pari, one of the most important women at Kurtatchi, and afterwards a description of the ceremony as I saw it performed for Nawi, who, though *tsunaun*, went through it in a modified form owing to special circumstances.

## ACCOUNT OF GIRL'S FIRST MENSTRUATION CEREMONY AS GIVEN BY KURTATCHI WOMEN

When a girl finds that she is bleeding for the first time, she does not like it, she is afraid, she hides in the bush. She runs away from her mother, and does not tell her, but her mother guesses what has

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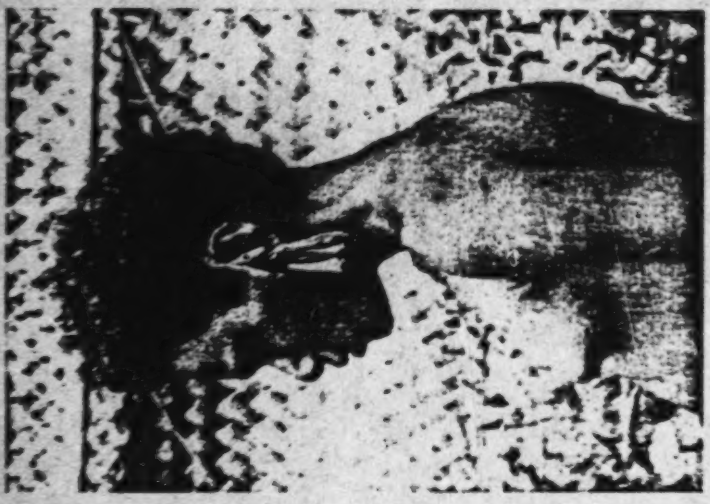
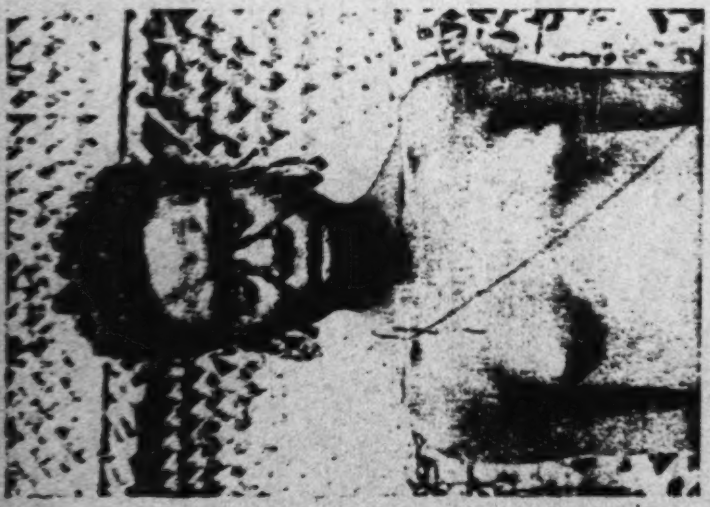
PLATE 11



142
159
301

NAWI



[Facing p. 252]

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Ruri, the next village to Kurtatchi, there was a girl of rank for whom this should have been done, but the proceedings were reduced to a short period of seclusion and the cooking of the *pipiru*. It would have been performed for Nawi at Kurtatchi, a much more conservative village than Ruri, had it not been that the village was engaged in preparations for the *watawutʃ*, this involving modification of the first menstruation rite, since it is strictly taboo to 'go up bananas' under these circumstances. The following account of what actually took place is transcribed from my diary.

### FIRST MENSTRUATION CEREMONY AS PERFORMED FOR NAWI

*September 12, 1930.* On my walk round the village this morning I found all the women greatly excited, because it has just been discovered that Nawi has started her first menstrual flux. This had been anticipated for several months, and the women had often told me that it was sure to happen soon. They had been very much looking forward to it, and are very disappointed that the banana-palm ceremony cannot be held because the time is approaching for the holding of the *watawutʃ* ceremony.

All the older women went into the bush and gathered quantities of cordyline leaves, which they must wear tucked into cane girdles at their waists during the ceremony. Nawi remained in her mother's hut. Her friend Kiots, with whom she generally goes about, is staying in the hut with her. Kiots experienced her first period some months ago, but the banana-palm ceremony was not held for her because she is a commoner. She is keeping Nawi company now out of friendship, not ceremonially. The two little girls who are her official companions are Talewu and Beawon. Talewu is the *mawi*. Talewu is the daughter of Poa, Nawi's father, by another mother, who is sister to Nawi's mother (by the same father but a different mother). Nawi calls Talewu *kiar* (sib of the same sex). It follows that Talewu belongs to the same clan as Nawi, viz. Naboin. But Beawon, who is not related to Nawi (there is no relationship term used between them), belongs to the other clan, Nakarib. This is contrary to the information given me previously by Pari and other women, who said that the two little companions of the girl must belong to the same clan as herself. It would thus seem that in this, as in many other particulars, the rules are not strictly adhered to.

All the people of the village, men and women, members of both

159 All the people of the village, men and women, members of both
281 260 ADOLESCENT GIRLS
clans, are fasting. Bwapip (one of the younger men) says he does not intend to fast; he is going to eat taro and drink water. The women are very angry with him; they say that if he does it will bring some terrible disaster on the village. I think he is bluffing, and will not have the courage to break the taboo, or, if he does, it will be in secret.

159 I visited Nawi in her mother's hut. She was lying on the plank which forms her bed, with a woman's hood across her body. Beside her were bunches of leaves, which covered her genitals. The three girls were sitting beside her. Various women came in at intervals and sat chatting for a while. All the women are wearing girdles of banana fibre with cordyline leaves tucked into them at the sides and in front.

[292]

*September 13.* A crowd of women are keeping Nawi company, and more are grouped on the women's verandah outside. The men are all lounging about the village, and no one is doing any work. Nawi spends most of her time dozing. When she has to leave the hut to relieve herself, she puts on a long hood, and both little girls, also wearing hoods, go with her. Ira and Poskea (two of the younger women) came and sat on my verandah, saying how hungry and thirsty they were. They must not eat or drink until to-morrow.

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*September 14.* All the women of the village collected in or around the hut. Two men, Nobit and Wasē, both belonging to the Naboin clan but not related to Nawi, were inside the hut, and a number of other men, including most of the older men of the village, of both clans, were sitting or standing just outside, round the men's verandah. Three new *kōbū* had been prepared, and a bunch of roots and leaves made up beforehand (for description of this see p. 263). Nobit loosened the bundle and held it while Pasu, an old woman of the Naboin clan, sprinkled some red paint (*owan*) over it and into it. Then he held the bundle of leaves and roots over each of the three *kōbū* in turn, while Pasu poured the milk of a large number of coco-nuts through the bundle into two of them; the third was put underneath to catch the overflow. A length of bamboo was put into one of the *kōbū*, and all the women present drank some of the mixture in turns, drawing it up through the bamboo. Nawi was urged to drink freely, so were the two little girls who had been keeping her company. While we were all taking turns to drink, Pasu and Takok (Takok is Nawi's *tsulā*) lay at full length on the ground, and some of the women indulged in a little

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horse-play with them, jumping over them and pulling them about, but there was nothing that could be called playing at sexual intercourse. This part of the ceremony had to be modified on account of the approaching menses.

The second *kōbū* was put on the ledge just inside the door at the men's end of the hut, and all the men present drank from it, both the two who were inside the hut and those who remained outside at the *tapoun*. When all had drunk, it was filled up with more coco-nut milk, poured through the bundle as before, and the contents were then poured into half-coco-nut shells, with the meat still in them. These were sent to Pinari, who was not present. Coco-nuts were also filled from the *kōbū* out of which the women had drunk, and these were sent to a group of women with babies who were sitting at the women's end of the hut and on the women's verandah.

Nawi wore a hood with a pattern worked on it in fibre. All the women still had cordyline leaves tucked into cane girdles, which they wore over their loin-cloths. The leaves were allowed to hang down, either in front or at both sides. Nawi wore hers in front, under her loin-cloth, which she had resumed; over it she had several girdles of red cane. I was also given cordyline leaves, and asked to wear them in my belt, with the earnest request that I should not throw them away afterwards. They said it would be all right for me to press the leaves and keep them in my box, which I did. Those worn by the other women were to be put up in the rafters of the hut, together with the *kōbū* used to contain the drinking mixture, and dried in the smoke which is constantly rising from the smouldering fire on the floor of the hut. This hardening of the *kōbū* and cordyline leaves is to ensure that Nawi's flux will not occur again too quickly. When she is married, her mother will prepare some ceremonial pudding, of which all the women will partake, and the leaves and the *kōbū* will then be thrown into the sea.

Nawi tells me that her flow has finished. Since its onset was announced on Friday morning, it has lasted two days and two nights, or possibly three nights, if it began early in the night of Thursday–Friday.

When all the men and women present had drunk some of the mixture out of the *kōbū*, Nawi was given a basket of roast taro cut into thin slices, each slice smeared thickly with *owan* on both sides, and a little packet of taro leaves, cooked in the embers. She ate

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159 881 one piece, and gave some to the two children, and some to Kisia. The village is now free to eat what it pleases, but Nawi must still eat sparingly. She may not yet come out of the hut.

All the proceedings were over quite early in the morning, and every one dispersed as usual; there was no lounging about the place as there was yesterday. In the evening there was a *hōma* of the usual kind, with slit-gong and *mabu* and *piu*. The women of Nawi's clan were not allowed to take part in it, but those of the other clan did so.

*September 15.* Nawi and the two little girls still confined to the hut. Village at work as usual. No special features, and no *hōma* at night.

[831] *September 16.* Nothing happened till shortly before dusk, when some of the women came to fetch me to go to Nawi's hut. All the women of the village gathered there, and engaged in romping and horse-play, the sexual nature of which was somewhat more veiled than in the account previously given, consisting chiefly of some women lying flat on the ground and others jumping on them. Then all present, including myself, drank, from a bamboo, a mixture out of a receptacle that had been set up on a stand inside the hut. (The ingredients of this I afterwards obtained from its maker, they will be discussed later.) No men were present at this part of the proceedings. All the women still wore their cordyline leaves. After every one had drunk, there was more romping, during which pieces of pig and taro were thrown about. This went on for some time. Then there was an interval during which every one sat around and talked.

159 881 535 When it was quite dark the men began blowing the pipes, both *mabu* and *piu* (see pp. 411–12). The women, all wearing their hoods, collected in the central space of the village, and called to me to join them. We walked backwards and forwards towards and away from the men who were playing, then walked all round them, then along the back of the line of huts (*babots*), to Nawi's mother's hut. Nawi came out. A coco-nut shell filled with water was handed round. Some of the women drank, some held it to their mouths without swallowing any. Then we all stood in a group, close together, facing east, and yelled 'Ba-a-a-a-a-h'. The whole group turned round to face west, and yelled again. Then all, including Nawi, went back to the central space where the men were still playing, and danced with a peculiar step, a hop coming down on

1: Blackwood E-5 (1929-1930) 935
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both feet, hissing the while, in a series of jerks. (This is different from the ordinary dance steps as performed by the women at other times, and I did not see it done on any other occasion.) Some women formed lines and danced together, some danced alone. Nawi danced also. This went on for a long time.

*September 17.* Nawi can now walk about the village, but she must not go to the taro garden nor do any work.

This state of things continued till

*September 20.* On this day Nawi went for the first time to fetch water, but she must not yet go to the taro garden.

On September 21 I was unfortunately obliged to leave the village for a few days. When I returned, Nawi was working as usual, but neither she nor any one else could tell me which day she first went to the taro garden. It was definitely more than ten days from the time of the first appearance of the flux.

As I went on my way I met a man from Baniu, who said he had come to fetch Nawi and take her to Tendru, a village farther along the coast, where there was to be a cicatrization ceremony, at which she would be 'cut', together with three other girls. I was invited to attend, but when I went to the village on the appointed day I found that Nawi had run away into the bush and refused to go, and her parents said they would not insist on her undergoing the operation. One of the other girls, from another village, had also run away, and a third was ill. Since only one candidate remained, the ceremony did not take place.

## DETAILS OF MIXTURE USED IN NAWI'S FIRST MENSTRUATION CEREMONY

The following description of the preparation of roots and leaves used for the drink which was shared on the third day of the proceedings was given me subsequently, by the men who made it. These were three of the younger men of the village, Wasɛ, Tchub, and Bwapip; they did it because Tchub knew the method of making it, having been taught by his mother and father (his father has been dead for some time, his mother is alive and resides in the village, but she did not superintend the preparation of the mixture). None of the men is related to Nawi, but all belong to the same clan. I think, however, that this is not essential.

A stand must be made from the branches of a tree called *ewitʃ*. This is done by setting up four straight branches about 3 feet in

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# XVI

# DREAMS

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●159 THE collection of native dreams which forms the subject of the present chapter was made in accordance with a suggestion from Professor C. G. Seligman that I might pay some attention to this aspect of native life while in the field. Being without the special training necessary to record and deal with the material from the standpoint of the psycho-analyst, I can do little more than give a descriptive account of the dreams I was able to obtain, quoting them in full[1] as far as seems practicable in the hope that taken in conjunction with the background supplied by the other chapters of this book, they may provide material which those better qualified than myself may turn to better purpose.

## SCOPE OF THE COLLECTION

The dreams in my collection comprise 91 verbatim reports of actual dreams, almost all taken on the morning after their occurrence, and 21 recollected dreams, gathered in course of conversation; among these latter are included experiences of the informant, beginning: 'Once I dreamt that . . .' or 'I sometimes (or often) dream that . . .' and also, in a few cases, general statements, beginning: 'We dream that . . .' (using the exclusive form of the personal pronoun).

The dreams in the former category were from both sexes, the numbers being as follows: 49 were dreams of men, 11 of boys, 22 of women, and 9 of girls. In several cases more dreams than one were obtained from the same individual, the number of individuals concerned being 23 men, 8 boys, 13 women, and 5 girls. The dreams in the second category were obtained from men only. These figures are given merely to indicate the size and scope of the collection; they have no significance as regards the distribution, since the personnel was made up on the haphazard principle of getting hold of any one who was available. The numbers are, of

[1] Dreams given in full are numbered. Quotations in the text without numbers are portions of dreams only. The numbers are arbitrary and given merely for convenience of reference.

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course, far too small to permit of any satisfactory generalizations being made from them, but as collections of the dreams of a primitive people are as yet few and far between, a few comments may perhaps be permissible.

## METHOD OF COLLECTING AND RECORDING

The great majority of the dreams in my collection were obtained in the village of Kurtatchi, but I took what opportunities came my way of discussing the subject of dreaming in other places which I happened to visit. The 'remembered dreams' were usually obtained in this way. The verbatim reports were noted down the morning after their occurrence, and all the dreamers were personally known to me. It was my custom to take a walk round the village every morning after breakfast, during which I would sit chatting on the verandahs of various houses, and in the course of conversation would ask if any one had had any dreams on the previous night. No inducement or reward of any kind was offered. I used to tell them my own dreams, and found that they soon became interested and eager to tell me theirs. Sometimes they would come to my verandah to tell me dreams they had had during a daytime siesta. No special characteristics appear to belong to these as distinct from those dreamed at night. I have also heard them telling dreams to one another, just as we do. Only once, in the case of the 'incest' dream (No. 5, p. 563), was there, for reasons which will be obvious, any reluctance to tell a dream; in this case the speaker, though anxious to unburden himself of it, needed sympathetic encouragement and an assurance that no one could overhear, before he finally gave it.

Some of the dreams were written down a short time after the conversation, but the great majority were written as they were told. I had accustomed my friends to talking to me at such a pace that I was able to follow them in writing, and my note-taking did not appear to cause them any uneasiness. During the early part of my work the dreams were recorded in pidgin-English; afterwards I used the Kurtatchi dialect. After the dream had been recorded the dreamer was asked whether he considered the dream a good one or a bad one, and why. Usually it was not possible to elicit any further explanation, but occasionally incidents in the dream would be related by the dreamer to something that had happened recently. Attempts to carry out the technique suggested by Dr. Seligman

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126 (1923, p. 188) as regards point (*c*), which requires that 'the
●159 dreamer should be asked of what each incident or figure makes him think', met with little success, the usual response being 'I thought it was true'.

## FREQUENCY OF DREAMING

154 No data as to the frequency of dreams among these people can be obtained from my collection, as even had I carried out my
159 inquiries with more regularity than circumstances did in fact permit, it would still have been impossible to take note of the whole of any one person's dreaming, and there could be no check upon the completeness of the record. It is my impression, however, that, on the whole, dreams were much less frequent than among ourselves, so far as my limited experience goes, though I understand that very great individual differences occur in our own society. It is noteworthy that on more than one occasion the reason alleged for not having dreamed was that the previous day had been one on which nothing particular had happened. It is certainly a fact that on the morning after a day of excitements, such as the ceremony in the taro garden described in Chapter IX, there was always a number of dreams to record. It should perhaps be added that such days of excitement are, as a rule, accompanied by the consumption of more food than usual, including quantities of taro-and-coco-nut pudding, not an everyday article of diet, and certainly not markedly easy of digestion. One man said that he only dreamed when he played around a lot, or went down to the beach where there were rocks and caves. The explanation of the latter condition may lie in the fact that many of these rocks and caves are supposed to be the haunts of *urar*, and are thus connected with feelings of fear which may give rise to dreams in which the *urar* figure.

## THEORIES OF THE ORIGIN AND MEANING OF DREAMS

828 An endeavour to ascertain the ideas current among these people as to the cause of dreams elicited the following replies: 'You sleep, something goes away out of your head, when you wake it comes back.' 'The men who have died before send dreams to you when you sleep.' 'When we dream, the people who are dead come and
828 talk to us.' 'In dreams we go and stay with the people who are
774 dead.' 'I think when we dream our *abin* go and stand up with all the men who fought in the old days' (*abin* is the word used for a

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828 787 fear. The dreamer added: 'If I had dreamed that a man was lying asleep and that I stepped over him, it would mean that the shark would not eat me.' As usual, however, he could not explain why such an incident should bear this meaning.

Again, to dream of falling from a coco-nut tree means that some one will die. If the dream is that another man falls from the tree, the dreamer will tell him next morning and warn him not to go up. Further evidence of this is supplied from Pororan in material collected by Mr. Gordon Thomas, which I quote with his permission:

> A man will often dream that a relative or friend is ascending a coco-nut tree or going out in a canoe, and will see in his dream that the relative or friend will fall out of the coco-nut tree or is capsized from his canoe. He will tell the one dreamt of about his dream and will warn him not to do as he has dreamt. Sometimes they will laugh at the dreamer and will take no notice of the warning. At such times it is usual that the dream will come true and the accident will happen.
>
> Some men more than others have the gift of prophetic dreams. Hakaria has on several occasions dreamt of seeing a child taken away by a spirit during the night. On the following morning the child has been dead.

Conversely, dreams are also thought to ensure success. 'If a man dreams of hunting pig, he takes the dogs to the bush next day and [153] gets one.' In view of the known susceptibility of the native to suggestion, it is not unlikely that such dreams as this would be stimuli to successful effort.

It is recognized that some people are able to interpret dreams, but I did not hear of an instance in which such a person was actually consulted as to the meaning of a dream, either with or without payment. No reference was made in our discussions to this being done. But it may be. Some people said that if they had bad dreams they did not like to tell them to anybody.

## 'RECIPROCAL' DREAMS

● 154 Several instances of dreams in which two people were concerned came to my notice. Unfortunately, I did not check any of them by questioning the other people concerned, so I cannot offer corroborative evidence. They seem, however, to be sufficiently interesting to record at their face value.

A man may dream of having connexion with a woman and the woman

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with the man. The next day the man will say to the woman: 'I dreamed about you last night. My skin wants you.' Then if the woman is willing they go to the bush (implying that they have sexual intercourse there). 159 [195]

It was made clear in subsequent conversation that the speaker had in mind the occurrence of 'reciprocal dreams', in which both parties dreamed simultaneously of the other. A similar report was made by Sakwan of Pororan:

Sometimes a man will dream of a woman; that he is sleeping with her and that they have sexual connexion. In the morning the man who has dreamed will go to the woman and say: 'I dreamed of you last night.' She will reply: 'Yes, I know, for I dreamed of you too.' Sometimes a woman will dream of a man in like manner, and the man will know that he has been dreamed of by that certain woman. (Notes supplied by Mr. Gordon Thomas.)

Both these accounts were given as generalized statements, not as actual dreams.

Persons other than the dreamer are involved also in the following, which appears to have been an actual dream, though not of the night before:

Sometimes my dreams come true. Once I dreamed that a certain man went to the house of a certain girl and they walked about together with his arm round her neck. Afterwards I went to the man and told him the dream, and he said: 'True, I did walk about with my arm round the girl's neck.' He was very much ashamed that I had dreamed such a thing.

*Comment by the recorder.* Etiquette forbids any show of affection between lovers in public. The couple in question were shortly afterwards married by the missionary. [576]

On one occasion, after my return from a trip during which I had left my native servant in charge of my house at Kurtatchi, he told me that during my absence the following incident had occurred:

(No. 24) One night I thought I heard some one knocking on the wall of the house, and I got the torch to look, but there was no one to be seen. Then I went to sleep and dreamed a woman came under the house and knocked on the floor, and asked me to have intercourse with her, but I would not. Next day I found out that the people in the village were talking about me, and saying that women came to me at night. But that is not true, I do nothing but sleep at night.

The belief in the efficacy of certain 'prescriptions' involving dreams may be due to their use having been coincident with success 159 832

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explicable along similar lines. The two which are here given were told to me in the course of my inquiries after plants powerful as 'medicine', and had no connexion whatever with any of our discussions on dreams.

*To make a woman desire you*

*Ravakot* (a grass with numbers of small sticky seeds).

Take the roots and some of the seeds when they are ripe. Chew them with the betel-mixture, go to the woman with this in your mouth and talk with her. When she has answered you, go away. At night the woman will dream of you. In the morning she will come and ask you: 'What have you done to me? I dreamed about you.' You say: 'No, I did nothing to you, but you and I talked together while I chewed something.' The woman dreams about you every night, and if she sleeps during the day she dreams about you again. By and by you two get married.

*To make a woman visit you*

*Wadodowu* (a small plant).

If you dream in the night that you have connexion with a woman, you get up at earliest dawn and get a leaf of this plant, rub it in your hands and wash it in a river; then go back to the village and the woman will come to you.

## TYPE DREAMS

Of the 'type dreams' listed by Dr. Seligman (1923, p. 188, supplemented by letter) as common among the white races, my collection contains instances of all but one, the absence of which is easily explained. I have no evidence, however, that they bear in the Solomon Islands the meanings usually assigned to them in Europe, and also discovered in other parts of the world.

1. *Flying.* ('Usual meaning, good luck, success.')

Three examples. Also given as a dream that recurs. Sensation regarded as pleasant, but no definite meaning assigned to it, so far as I could ascertain.

2. *Fire.* ('May refer to reproduction or some form of creative energy.')

Only one example, in the course of a complex dream related by an old man (No. 13, p. 554). 'By and by I tried to light a fire but it would not burn.' The dream was regarded as a good one, but the relevant part of it was other than the fire.

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3. *Climbing a tree or going uphill.* ('Success, often sexual.')

Seven examples, if we include a dream of climbing a rope that went up into the sky. In two of these the climbing of the tree was followed by falling from it, and this was regarded as the more significant part of the dream, foreboding death. In others the tree is climbed in order to escape from a pursuer; these are bad dreams.

4. *Loss of a tooth or teeth.* ('Death of a near relative.')

Not related as an actual dream of the night before, but statement made in discussion: 'If I eat a lot at night I sometimes dream all my teeth have gone away. In the morning I feel for them and they are still there.' No particular significance appeared to be attached to this dream, but one informant who reported it said it was a good dream, because some one would say to him, 'Oh, you are an old man now.' It is possible that the dream is regarded as good because of the greater prestige attaching to the elder men which was thus attained by the dreamer.

5. *The Œdipus dream.*

One clear example of this as 'manifest content' of dream, if 'extended to include connexion with any relative within the forbidden degrees of the people concerned' (Seligman, 1923, p. 188). For further discussion of this question see p. 563.

6. *Raw Meat.* ('Forebodes disaster, possibly death.')

Five examples, in all cases the meat being pig, which is cooked and eaten in the dream. In two of these there is definite mention of its being 'cut up', in the others this is implied. Always said to be a good dream 'because we had pig to eat'. The idea of disaster is definitely not associated with this dream.

7. *Dream of being incompletely clothed.* ('Goes back to childhood.')

Does not occur in my collection. Absence may be accounted for by the fact that these natives habitually wear little or no clothing.

## CLASSIFICATION OF INCIDENTS IN THE DREAMS ACCORDING TO THEIR 'MANIFEST CONTENT'

Since it is of interest to the student of native psychology to determine how far the dreams of primitive people resemble our own, the 'manifest content' of the dreams in my collection will now be considered in some detail, and an attempt will be made to

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associate them, as far as possible, 'with the life and beliefs of the dreamer', as suggested in *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* (1929 ed., p. 172).

As among ourselves, many of the dreams consist of a succession of incidents, apparently unrelated to one another, but each quite clear and definite in content. It is, therefore, impossible to get an adequate idea of their contents by classifying only the dreams as a whole. I have, therefore, listed the more definite of the incidents in the dreams separately, and for the present will consider each of these as an isolated entity, without reference to the rest of the dream in which it occurs. The numbers are, of course, too small to be significant, but the list as a whole is, perhaps, indicative of the general trend of native dreaming. Inferences regarding the distribution of the subject-matter of dreams according to the age and sex of the dreamer are also unsatisfactory owing to smallness of numbers, but these particulars are given where they appear to be relevant.

*Classification of incidents according to 'manifest content'*

| *Subject* | *Number of incidents* |
|---|---|
| (*a*) Death and *urar* (spirits of the dead) | 39 |
| (*b*) Incidents of everyday life | 20 |
| (*c*) Incidents with sexual implications | 18 |
| (*d*) Food and eating | 14 |
| (*e*) Fighting, beating, or being beaten | 14 |
| (*f*) Incidents involving animals (other than as food) | 13 |
| (*g*) Going a journey | 11 |
| (*h*) Falling from a height | 9 |
| (*i*) Climbing or going uphill | 7 |
| (*j*) Sleep | 6 |
| (*k*) Trying to move and being fixed to the spot | 5 |
| (*l*) Physical disabilities | 5 |
| (*m*) Urination and defaecation | 4 |
| (*n*) Childbirth and suckling | 3 |
| (*o*) Going into water to wash | 3 |
| (*p*) Flying | 3 |
| (*q*) Ceremonies and dances | 3 |

(*a*) *Death and* urar.

Of the 39 incidents in this category, 22 deal with *urar*, i.e. spirits of people long dead, and not personally identifiable by the

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dreamer. They are most frequently dreamed of as chasing or beating or killing the dreamer or some other person, but occasionally play a beneficent part, just as they do in the waking life of the natives. They have been discussed at length in Chapter XIV, and the important part which they play throughout the life of every individual has been enphasized. 159

The following are typical examples of this kind of dream:

No. 71. Rus (adult female).

I dreamed an *urar* seized me by the leg, and I was very frightened. This is a bad dream.

No. 79. Nawi (adolescent girl, aged about 12–13).

I dreamed about an *urar*; it ran after me, and I was frightened, and I cried, and I fell down from a tree, and I ran away. My mother cried because of the *urar*; she thought it would eat me, so she cried about me. Then I went to sleep in the dark. This is a bad dream. When I woke up I felt frightened.

No. 50. Tsikul (adolescent boy, aged about 14–15).

I dreamed about *urar*; we saw a lot of them coming towards the village. Then Tchub saw Talok, and said to him: Who is there?' Talok said: 'It is I.' Then we went inside a house, a house belonging to the *urar*, and stayed there, and the *urar* came up, and we saw them coming along the road. Then I said: 'Here are the *urar* coming along the road.' We were all afraid of them. The boys said: 'The *urar* want to eat us, we are afraid of them.' Then we said to them: 'You go back to your own place, and we will stay in our own place.' Then we saw a lot of *urar* and we all ran away and went inside a house. Then a dog cried out and barked at the *urar* in the bush, and Maniu went out and said: 'What are the dogs barking at?' We said to him: 'You go and see.' Then he said: 'There are *urar* here.' He saw them, and he ran away, and ran inside the house. Then we saw the *urar* standing in the bush, and we said: 'I think they are real men.' Then Tchub looked round the village, and all the *urar* came up, and he called out: 'A lot of *urar*.' Tchub called out to the *urar*, and they ran away and went back to the bush, and we all ran back to the village, and we talked about the *urar*: 'Presently they will come back and eat us.' Then we lay down inside the house, we were afraid and we lay down in the house. Then some people called out to us: 'You come out on the other side of the house.' We were asleep, but we got up and went out on the other side. Then the *urar* very nearly caught us and ate us. Then we called out to them, and said: 'You go back to your own place, what are you doing in our village? This place belongs to us, your place is a long way off. We can't go to your place,

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● 159 it is a bad place, our place is a good place, there is plenty to eat here.' We said to the *urar*: 'You go back to your own place, and we will stay in our own place, our nice village, not a bad place like yours.' Then we went to sleep, and the *urar* went away, but one stayed *urar* behind, on the front verandah, our front verandah, and we asked him: 'Who is there?' He said: 'It is I, an *urar*. You come here, you come out on the other side.' Then one man wanted to relieve himself, and the *urar* caught him and took him to his hole. This is a bad dream, I was frightened.

The following is interesting because of the attitude of the dreamer, my servant, from Petats. He has had more contact with white people than most of the other people whose dreams are here recorded.

No. 25. Ross (adult male).

I dreamed that I was at some place with some more men and two women. I was cutting firewood. A *tamboran*[1] came up, one of those who eat men. All the men ran away and left me alone. I went on cutting firewood. The two women said: 'You and I will wait for Ross.' The *tamboran* barred the road. I sat down and thought what to do: 'Which way shall I go, the *tamboran* is barring the road, there is no way for me to get away. Never mind, I will try the road all the same. Night is coming, there is nowhere for me to sleep here.' So I went along the road, and there was no *tamboran* there at all. I went on and went on, and saw nothing of the *tamboran*, and at last I came to my village. All the people were angry with me. 'What are you doing, walking about in the place where there are *tamboran*? Don't you know they will eat you?' 'I came, there are no *tamboran*.' Then they all said: 'I think you are not afraid of them,' and I said: 'No, I am not afraid.'

The following are examples of 'good' dreams in which the *urar* figure:

No. 13. Maravin (aged male).

I dreamed that an *urar* came and pulled me away to Binaoa (a village about 14 miles down the coast). It was just like a pig. I made myself a little house at the root of a banyan tree and went to sleep. By and by I tried to light a fire, but it would not burn. Then I walked about. Then some people came and said: 'Let us go back to our own village.' So they brought me back. Then I woke up and said: 'Oh, it was only a dream. I thought I was dead. Now my spirit (*abia*) has come back.' This is a good dream. I think I shall get well now.

*Comment by the recorder.* The dreamer had been ill for a long time. He died a few days later.

[1] This dream was told to me in pidgin-English. *Tamboran* is the pidgin-English equivalent of *urar* in the Kurtatchi dialect.

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No. 4. Bwapip (adult male).

When I was asleep last night, an *urar* came and lifted me up, and took me to Ura'o (part of the beach below the cliffs on which the village is situated), and turned me round, and took me to the shore, and then took me into the sea. He saw a big wave, and said: 'Go on, what are you waiting for? The sea is clear now, there are no waves.' He looked at the rough sea and threw me into it, and I called out from a big wave; it threw me on to a stone, and I called out: 'Who is beating me? I lay down. There were no men there. I thought there were some men, and I got up and went to the shore, and tried to stand up, but I fell down on to the sand. There were no men there, only *urar*. All the *urar* beat me, and they brought me to some place, I was dead; and they carried me to a hole. They put me in the hole, and I lay there; it was a very big hole. I lay there for a long time, and then the *urar* came and made me get up again. I stood up and laughed, and did not think about my skin, which had disappeared; there I was without my skin. Then I went back to my village, and all the people asked me: 'Where have you been?' I said: 'I don't know, I have been in a hole. I think the *urar* came and lifted me up.' 'No, *you know, you have been talking to the urar.*' *They all made* sumak (ceremonial pudding) because I had come back, all the people made it; then they called all the *urar* and they all came and ate the sumak. This is a good dream, it was pleasant to see. If a dream is bad, when the man wakes up he feels sick. When I woke up I felt well, I was not sick.

Of the sixteen dreams which deal with individuals, four are concerned with the death of the dreamer, who in three of them came to life again.[1] The fourth was a dream of suicide (No. 35, p. 569). Four portray the death of persons (actually living) known to the dreamer, and identified by name, and four refer to the death of persons unknown or unidentified. One is the dream of a funeral; it occurred on the night following the attendance of the dreamer (a woman) at a ritual wailing. Four are concerned with people recently dead, and form a link with the *urar* dreams, since the recently dead are in process of becoming *urar* (see p. 506). Some of them bear traces of missionary influence, as will be seen from the following example:

No. 43. Watchiu (adult male).

I dreamed about Baki, that he died. The teacher at Moaang (a

[1] In this connexion it should be noted that these people do not distinguish between death and unconsciousness due to illness or a faint. The same word is used for both, and ritual wailing will be started for a person in the latter condition, to cease suddenly when consciousness returns.

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● 159 neighbouring village) wanted to bury him. He went to look for me; I was at Tchuntchunis (a piece of the coast not far off). I asked him: 'What do you want me for?' 'I want to bury Baki.' 'What, is Baki dead?' 'Yes, he is dead.' 'Well, you can't bury him here; you go and bury him in the place where they bury people who have been baptized.'

Then we went back to the village. I looked at Baki, he was lying there dead. I said: '*Atsat!* (an expression equivalent to our 'Alas!') he is dead.' Then we lifted him up and went to bury him.

Then his spirit (*abin*) turned into a shark, and went to the sea. A lot of men were sitting on their nets, waiting for fish to come up. One man stood up, and saw the shark by the light of his torch, and went after it. It was angry, and said: 'Why did you stand up with your torch and go after that fish?' They all cried out: 'Here is one coming now.' A fish came along, and they all struggled to catch it in their nets. One man, Oga'ur (who died several months ago), tried especially hard to catch it. He went and lay down close to Baki, and his belly all swelled up, and he laughed about it.

Then I woke up in a fright, and looked all about, and said: 'What was it I was looking at?'

*Comments by the dreamer.* This is a bad dream. I was frightened. I was afraid of the man with the big belly. In the morning I went and said to Baki: 'I dreamed about you last night, I dreamed you were dead.' Baki said: 'I think I am going to die.' 'So do I. I thought you were really dead. I got up, and I did not hear the women crying over you, so then I thought: Oh, it was only a dream.'

*Comments by the recorder.* Baki is an old man in poor health. He has not been baptized, and does not want to be. His name means 'shark'; he [553] adopted it on the occasion when one of the principal men of the village was eaten by a shark.

Another individual also dreamed of the death of the same man, owing probably to his long illness, from which he had recently recovered at the time of the following dream:

No. 52. Rarun (adolescent male, aged about 14–15).

I dreamed Baki died of his sore, and we all cried over him. They buried him at night. Then I went out to urinate, and something ran after me with a spear that was all alight. I was afraid, and I cried out: 'Don't kill me.' Then I went and found Takel (another boy, younger than Rarun) and we went fishing at night, and Baki's spirit chased us. This is a bad dream because I was frightened.

The following dream of a visit to the place of the dead, in search of a deceased relative, has its counterpart in many of the stories and

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legends in my collection, the telling of some of which may possibly have occasioned it.

No. 88. Patu (middle-aged male, village of Kohiso, Central Buka).

I dreamed about my brother who is dead. I went to look for him, and came to a big place, with big houses on each side and a road in the middle. There were a lot of people. They all asked: 'Who is this?' Some of them said: 'Oh, he is a relative of mine.' Then they beckoned me to go into a house and said it was mine. This is a good dream.

The dreams in this category are fairly evenly distributed among adults and adolescents, males and females, and give an accurate picture of the psychological importance to these people of their conception of the *urur*. The proportion of dreams involving death was undoubtedly somewhat increased by the death of two villagers within a short interval; but for many of them no immediate external cause could be assigned, other than the fear of death which is very present to every one in the community. It would be interesting to ascertain the proportion of dreams involving death in a comparable collection from our own community.

(*b*) *Incidents of everyday life.*

In this category I have placed dreams, common I take it in the experience of every dreamer, which deal with events or activities which either do, or might very well, happen in the course of an ordinary day, without being in any way unusual. They are frequently identified with incidents in the recent waking life of the dreamer. Many of them deal with the occupations associated with the provision of food, e.g. hunting, fishing, working in the taro garden, &c. They seem to be more frequent among men and boys than among women and girls, perhaps because hunting and fishing are more exciting than most of the work performed by women.

Typical of this class are the following:

No. 16. Minka (adult male).

I dreamed that I went out in a big *mon* (plank canoe) to fish for bonito, and we caught a lot of bonito; then a shark came after the *mon*. We paddled hard, but the shark was just going to catch us when I woke up.

It was this dream that gave rise to the statement that the dreamer would not go out after bonito for a few days following it.

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159 The dreams of children and adolescents frequently seem to be of this type:

No. 84. Talewu (girl, aged 5 or 6).

I dreamed about a lot of shells, they were in the house, and we threw them away into the sea.

*Comment by recorder*. She had been gathering shell-fish on the reef for a long time on the previous day.

No. 85. Waror (girl, aged about 7).

I dreamed about my mother; she came back to our village; she brought a big hood and a little hood, and we went to wash and to get water, and we fetched some water and went back and went home.

*Comment by recorder*. Waror's mother has been staying at another village. When she returns from such a visit she always brings a present for her children. The hood is worn by women and girls to prevent them from seeing or being seen by their *waris* (daughter's husband, in the classificatory system, see p. 73).

The following, dreamed by a boy wearing the *upi*, is perhaps significant:

No. 46. Maniu (boy aged about 10 or 11).

I dreamed that Karikoa (a boy about the same age) cut a piece off the end of an old canoe, and I said: 'Oh, Karikoa, why are you spoiling Sinke's canoe?' Then Tchub (a young man) said: 'It is a good canoe, why did you cut it short?' Karikoa said: 'I only cut it, that 's all.' Then Tchub mended it.

Another, dreamed by a young man who had had more contact with white people than most of the people of this village, having worked both on plantations and in the gold mines of New Guinea, deals with money and also with knives, one of its trade equivalents.

No. 15. Matarē (adult male).

I dreamed I had a lot of money, and I bought knives, and I bought a box and filled it up with knives and nothing else. Then all the people came and asked me: 'Where is your box? let us see it.' Then I opened the box and they all said: 'Oh, what a lot of knives!' Then I gave them all knives. This is a good dream; I was glad, I thought I really had a lot of money.

159 556 *Comment by the recorder*. 'Money' means shillings, which are used for the payment of plantation labourers. It is the custom for them to spend much of it on knick-knacks from the plantation store, which are appropriated by their friends as soon as they return to their own village. They do not appear to object to being thus mulcted of the results of their three

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years' hard work, but enjoy the enhanced reputation which such generosity (although almost involuntary) accords to them. 159 [556]

(*c*) *Dreams having a definite sexual element.*

The dreams included under this head are confined to those in which the sexual element is clearly expressed in the manifest content. I have made no attempt to deal with the sexual life as illustrated by the 'latent content' of the dreams in this collection, not being qualified to do so.

As regards 'manifest content', then, this collection provides eighteen dreams which can be regarded as sexual. It will be noted that the number is less than half that of the dreams concerned with death and the *urar*, a proportion which seems to be significant even in so small a collection.

The sexual act, either performed or solicited, figures in six of these dreams, three being dreams of men and three of women. In each case the individual of the opposite sex figures as the aggressor, the request being either refused or acceded to after much persuasion. This pretence seems to be a form of self-justification to which the natives have recourse also in their waking life, for I was struck by the fact that in every dispute over, or discussion upon, sexual relations which came under my notice, the other party was represented as urging and the speaker as holding back, an allegation which was always denied by the accused. Only one of these dreams deals with a married couple, in the others the relations are illicit. One of them is an 'incest' dream (No. 5, p. 563). 159 833

Of the other dreams in this class, mention may be made of one which occurred to the husband of the woman who was the cause of the trouble discussed on p. 119 by being accused of carrying on intrigues with three lovers at once. The dream took place at a time when her behaviour was the subject of general comment in the village. Its implications are obvious: 159

No. 33. Tchiriv (young adult male).

I dreamed a man whom I did not know hid Tarubi in the bush and covered her up with leaves. I went to look for her. Tahol and Takon asked me: 'Where is your wife?' I said: 'I don't know.' Then I found a snake, and that woke me up. This is a bad dream.

*Comments by the recorder.* It is usual for illicit relationships to be carried on in the bush. Tarubi is the dreamer's wife, Tahol and Takon are the two wives of a man in whose hut Tchiriv and Tarubi were living at the time. [837]

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154 In connexion with the theories concerning conflict and repression in dreams, it is relevant, I think, that some of the dreams of adolescent boys wearing the *upi* fall into this category. As explained at length in Chapter VI these boys are strictly debarred from all but the most distant association with women and girls, and from entering any house in which a woman lives, even their own mother's. Since this situation is interesting from the point of view of psycho-analytical theory, the dreams are given in full.

No. 47. Rimias (adolescent male, aged 15 to 16).

A dog barked at an opossum, and a man went to catch it. Another man asked him: 'Has the dog eaten up the opossum?' Then he went and sat down beside another man who was pulling on a creeper (to shake down the opossum). The man was angry with him for coming so close. Then another man, Gasagur (a boy about the same age as the dreamer, also wearing the *upi*), pretended to be mad, and went inside two houses. Two men were sitting down on the men's verandah; but the mad man went inside the house by the women's door and beat two women, and they cried. Then the mad man chased all the people of the place, and they all went and hid among the banana palms. I said: 'Why did Gasagur go inside the house? He knows that is taboo; it is not time to go inside the house yet. We shall all die now.' Then I woke up feeling very angry.

The dreamer could make no comments on this dream, he did not have a definite impression that it was either good or bad.

The following dream occurred to the same individual about a month later:

No. 48. Rimias.

I dreamed in the night. I saw a woman who was dead, and the people of Tenasoa (the next village) brought a coffin, and all the women went to church, and we heard them crying, and we stayed in the garden shelter. Then we went back, and a Chinaman took a photograph of me. He had his wife with him; they were both very short. He held the camera with one hand stretched out, not with both hands as you do (illustrating with gesture). Then we went back, and Wanias (a little boy of *tsimaun* lineage) broke my belt; it was a very good belt, so I took it from him, and then I carried him in my arms. All the women were getting sand on the shore, and I carried a long thing that looked like the excrement of a pig; it touched my skin and I stank![1] Then I carried

[1] This is the only dream in which mention is made of the sense of smell. As is known to be the case with ourselves, the senses chiefly in evidence in these dreams are those of sight and hearing.

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Wanias back, and all the women came back, and I lay down on the ground; then I got up again, and all the women went back to the shore. This is a good dream because I did not feel ill when I woke up.

The following is the dream of a younger boy—also wearing the *upi*:

No. 54. Waseman (aged about 10 or 11).

*I dreamed that a man was having connexion with his wife, and the woman said: 'Now you come and help me.' Then an arar came behind them and beat me, and the woman cried over me. The woman was Erut. Then her husband, Paaib, came up, and cried over me, and the arar came and beat them both still said: 'Are you crying over a boy belonging to your village? You go and cry over the people of your own village. What do you mean by crying over a boy belonging to another village? You go and cry in your own village. What are you crying for?' Then the arar came to me, and a pinari was with him, and they killed me outright and I died.*

*Comments by dreamer. This is a bad dream. I thought it was true.* When they were playing *sato* last night I went off to bed, all by myself. I was cross because I had lost all my tobacco. Then I dreamed this dream, and woke up in a fright, and went back to the *sato* and watched it without playing.

*Comments by recorder.* The persons mentioned are two villagers, not connected with the dreamer; they are happily married. *Pinari* is the name of a class of creature resembling our 'goblins' who live in the bush. It is also the personal name of the principal man in the village. *Sato* is a gambling game recently introduced from the British Solomons. They frequently play all night, and are very querulous afterwards. There would appear to be some significance in the insistence on the fact of the boy belonging to *another* village (which is not true).

The other dreams related to me by boys wearing the *upi* have no manifest sexual content, but are typical boyish dreams; some of them are given in other connexions (see No. 46, p. 558).

Of the women's dreams, several seem to indicate by their manifest content some sort of sexual conflict. Those of one dreamer have been discussed in this connexion by Dr. Seligman (1932, p. 218) and need not be repeated here. The married life of the woman in question did not come under my personal observation, as she was a widow whose husband belonged to a distant village. But the little information which I could elicit from her about him, and the fact that she had refused to marry his brother on his death, but elected to return to her own village, bringing her children with her,

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154 argue in favour of the interpretation placed upon her dreams in the
159 paper referred to, concerning the unhappiness of her marriage.

159 The dreams of two women living in normal, and to outward seeming not unhappy, relations with their husbands took the following form:

No. 63. Kwimau (adult female).

I dreamed a man from Solloa (the mountain district of central Buka) beat me, and took a knife and cut me open (indicating by gestures a cut from beneath her chin down the middle of her chest). Then I died and they buried me, but I came alive again and ran away, and ran and ran and ran and ran and ran, and came to the deep sea. I cried and ran away again and went to my own village. This is a bad dream because I was frightened.

No. 64. Marott (adult female).

I dreamed a man tried to cut me with an axe and I screamed.

Two dreams of adolescent girls also involve the idea of sexual repugnance. One of these runs thus:

No. 83. Takon (girl about 10, living with her husband but marriage not consummated).

I dreamed that Nawi (a girl slightly older) and I went to catch fish on the reef, and a man wanted to catch us. We ran away and he chased us. Then we went and hid, and he went back. Then we came out and started fishing again, but the man came up again and tried to take hold of us, but we ran away again. Then we launched a canoe and the current caught us and carried us along. Nawi went ashore, and got her fishing basket, but I stayed in the canoe and was carried with it out into the open sea. I died. Then a man swam out and caught me and carried me ashore and knocked my head against a stone, and I came to life again. Then my mother cried, and Nawi went to tell her. My mother said: 'Why did you stay there when the man chased you?' 'He took Takon and threw her into the sea.' Then my mother cried, and went to the beach, and took some sand and rubbed it into her eyes. Then a police-boy came, and we were all afraid of him. All the children were playing on the beach, and the police-boy ran after them, and they all ran away back to the village. The people were cross with them, and said: 'What are the children doing on the road?' 'A man there has poison.' The children said: 'A police-boy has been chasing us.' Then they all ran away. I woke up and felt ill. This is a bad dream, I was frightened.

## THE 'ŒDIPUS COMPLEX'

154 In considering this question, which has been the subject of so
159 much controversy, I have kept in mind the presentation of it in

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modified form as discussed by Dr. Seligman in his Huxley Lecture. The actual occurrence of incest in this community, and the part played by it in myths and stories, has been discussed in Chapter III. It remains to consider it in relation to dreams. Accepting the suggestion made by Dr. Seligman in another paper (1923, p. 188) that the 'Œdipus dream' 'might be extended to include connexion with any relative within the forbidden degrees of the people concerned', there comes under this heading the following dream, in which the girl referred to stands to the dreamer in the relation of second 'sister', though she is actually his cousin. It is by far the most detailed in my collection, and as it presents several points of interest it is here given in full, in spite of its length, together with the comments I made on it at the time.

*No. 5. Bwayip (adult male).*

*I dreamed that Kiots came and stood in front of me as I lay asleep, and tried to make me get up, but I pushed her away and said: 'No, I don't want to!' But she came again and stood up in front of me and tried to pull me up. I said: 'What do you want?' She said: 'You get up.'* I said: 'No, I don't want to.' She insisted: 'Wake up, stand up now.' B. 'You want me to get up? What do you want me to do?' K. 'Stand up.' B. 'You want me to get up and go where?' K. 'Get up, that's all. Come.' I said emphatically that I didn't want to. But she still insisted. I was still lying down; she pulled me up. K. 'What are you lying down for? You get up.' B. 'Where shall we go if I get up?' K. 'You get up, that's all. What do you want to know for?' I got up and sat down. Kiots pulled at my hands. B. 'Oh, don't do that, I don't like it. You are behaving to me as though you had no husband.' K. 'Oh, I like you so much.' B. 'I don't care, I don't like you. This isn't the right thing to do.' K. 'Don't you want to do it? I want to very much.' B. 'No, I don't. I am afraid of the Kiap (District Officer). He will take us both to prison.' K. 'We needn't be afraid of him.' Then she broke off some leaves and put them on the ground, and lay down and opened her legs, and said: 'Come now. What are you still standing up for?' B. 'What are you doing?' K. 'What are *you* doing? Come, lie down.' So I lay down and had intercourse with her. K. 'You must keep me with you now, you can't leave me.' B. 'But haven't you got a husband of your own?' K. 'What does it matter if I have?' B. 'All the people will talk about us.' K. 'What does it matter if they do? Who is to tell them?' Then the two of us sat down close together, and Kiots said: 'You get some tobacco and give it to me; you and I are sitting down together, let us smoke together, you and I are lovers now. You come to me at night.' So we sat down together and talked. Then I woke up and found myself

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154 holding nothing, and I thought: 'Oh, I thought I was holding a woman.'

● 159 *Comments by the recorder.* This was apparently a very vivid dream. When I asked Bwapip, according to my usual custom when any one comes on to my verandah early in the day, whether he had dreamed last night, he said: 'I had a very bad dream.' I said: 'Tell me about it.' He said: 'It was about a woman', and seemed disinclined to talk about it, but eventually told me, making sure no one was listening. It seems to be very detailed for a dream, but he repeated parts of the conversation afterwards in identical terms, so it appears to be genuine (though it may have been unconsciously elaborated in the telling). He says he thinks the young lady in question really entertains for him the sentiments expressed in the dream, and he is afraid of its coming true. He stands to her in the relation expressed by the term corresponding to 'sister' ('sib of the opposite sex', see p. 63) and it would be a gross breach of [335] custom for them to have intercourse. But these people are not strict in observing their own rules, and instances of the kind occur not infrequently, though looked at askance by the community.

[83] Kiota is a girl somewhere between 15 and 20. She is married to a man who is away working at a plantation. She has the reputation in the village of being rather free with her favours.

This is the only dream in my collection in which the conception of incest appears as 'manifest content'. But since connexion with this problem will probably be apparent to a trained analyst in other dreams involving relatives, although their manifest content is not overtly sexual, I here make mention of all the dreams in which there appear any relatives with whom marriage is forbidden according to the kinship system of these natives.

159 (1) *Son dreams of his mother.*

No. 9. Kakari (young adult male, living in his mother's hut).

I dreamed the sore on my foot went right up my leg. Mrs. Hadden put medicine on it but it got no better, so she sent me back home. My mother put native medicine on it, leaves from the bush, but still it would not get better. Then all my toes fell off and my spirit (*abin*) cried about it. I woke up in a fright and jumped up and felt my toes to see if the dream was true. I thought they had really fallen off.

*Comments by the recorder.* Mrs. Hadden is the manager of the nearest plantation; she is very good to the natives and recently nursed Kakari with a bad septic sore which cost him his little toe. From his manner in describing the dream it must have been very vivid.

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(2) *Daughter dreams of her father.* No. 64. 159●

This dream is given in full on p. 571. The dreamer's father is only one of a number of persons concerned in the dream.

(3) *Sister dreams of her brother.*

Three dreams involving this relationship occur in my collection. One is a dream of the woman referred to on p. 561 which, taken in conjunction with another dream of the same night,[1] has been interpreted by Dr. Seligman as possibly containing an incestuous element (1932, p. 218). In the second, the dreamer, a young married woman, dreamed that her brother, a boy wearing the *upi*, was dead, and that the people buried him and wailed for him. She woke and thought it was true and went to find out. In the third the dreamer's brother figures in one of a sequence of apparently unrelated incidents (No. 64, p. 571).

(d) *Food and eating.*

In this category are placed those incidents which actually deal with the preparation and eating of food, as distinct from activities connected with the provision of it, which are listed in section (*b*). 159 511
It may be remarked that while the conditions under which these natives live enable them, by dint of continuous labour, to obtain a food supply adequate, as a rule, to their actual needs, it is not often that they have as much to eat as they would like, or eat the foods for which they have most taste. Of preferred foods, pig is easily first, and is a luxury rarely partaken of except on important festive occasions; so it is not surprising that six out of the fourteen dreams here included are of eating pig. It seems a little odd that incidents of this kind should occur chiefly in the dreams of adults (of both sexes), but this may perhaps be correlated with the fact that children are almost invariably given food whenever they ask for it. Representative of this class are the following:

No. 70. Poskis (young adult female). 159

I dreamed that my mother came with some fish, and she said: 'I will give you one fish.' So she gave me one, and my sister said to her: 'Give me one too.' So she took another and gave it to my sister.

[1] It is an axiom of psycho-analysis 'that all the dreams occurring in a given night arise from the same group of latent dream thoughts, though they usually present different aspects of them'. (Ernest Jones, *Papers on Psycho-Analysis*, p. 220.)

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159 No. 81. Nawi (adolescent girl).

I dreamed Kiots and I went to the taro garden, and we speared a wild pig which was eating the taro, and we held the pig fast, and we cooked it and ate it, and ate some taro too, and we ate, and ate, and ate, and ate. Then we went to work and planted taro, and we chased another pig, and the pig ran away, and I said: 'Oh, Kiots, the pig is over there.' Then I climbed a tree and got a stick for a spear, and threw it at the pig and the pig ran away. Then we looked at the taro, and it was all spoilt, the pig had eaten it all. Then we went back to the village, and went to the shore, and saw a schooner sailing near the shore. Then we went back to the village and cooked the pig. This is a good dream, because we ate pig.

No. 2. Baki (aged male).

I dreamed I and some other men were paddling in a *mon* (plank canoe) and we went ashore and cut up a pig; then we went and swam in the water; then we came ashore again and sat on the beach. This is a good dream, because we had the pig to eat.

159 721 578 (*e*) *Fighting, beating, or being beaten.*

War, which used to be an integral part of the lives of these people, has now become, as far as the coastal people are concerned, a thing of the past, owing to the pressure brought to bear by the Government. The loss of this source of excitement must have influenced the dream content. Sakwan, a man about forty-five, of the island of Pororan, said: 'Our dreams are not now the same as they used to be in the olden days when we dreamed of fighting and of feasting.' This prohibition has not yet become operative in the mountainous centre of Bougainville, during a brief visit to which area three out of the five dreams dealing with killing were obtained. But quarrels leading to violence between individuals are common enough, and so is the beating of a woman by her husband, which figures in two of the dreams here listed. In the fourteen dreams in this category the dreamer appears as aggressor in two, as sufferer in nine, and as spectator in three. Examples are the following:

159 No. 12. Malias (adult male from the mountain district of Konua).

I dreamed about a man named Kariko, who wanted to kill people. He said to me: 'Come on, let us go and kill all the people here.'

No. 17. Minka (adult male).

I dreamed about a fight; another man was angry with me. I went back

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to my own house; the other man came and called out to me: 'You come out and we two will fight.' I stayed in the house. But the other man kept on calling out for me; he said I was afraid of him, so I came out. Then Watchiu (a neighbour) said to me: 'What are you doing? The man says you are afraid of him.' I came out; Watchiu came up too, to the fight; I stood behind him. He went up to the man who was calling out to me; the man beat Watchiu, he wanted to kill him. Watchiu shook the man's hand; he came up again to hit him, Watchiu shook his hand again. He came on again; then I came up, and I got a knife, I wanted to finish off the man. I threw the knife at the man, all the people called out to him. I put the knife into the man's belly; he died, and all the people buried him. Then I woke up, in the morning, and I thought: 'Where did I fight?' Then I knew it was a dream. This is a good dream, because I was strong in the fight and killed the man.

No. 40. Wasang (adult male).

I dreamed all the men were shooting, a lot of men. I chased them with a spear. One spear went into my back. I cried. I wanted to run away. I could not run away, I stayed in the same place. They all came up to me. I cried a lot. I thought it was true.

No. 57. Gomar (adult female).

I dreamed Wasē beat Tahol, and Tahol took her pack and ran away with it on her back, and she took Nomoin with her.

*Comments by recorder.* Wasē is the son of Gomar's husband by another wife who is dead. Tahol is his wife of whom he appears to be fond, and Nomoin is their baby adored by both of them.

*(f) Incidents involving animals other than as food.*

Dreams of pig and opossum have been listed under categories (*b*) and (*d*), being concerned either with hunting or eating them. Two dreams involve the Siamese cat which I kept as a pet, an object of great admiration to the natives who had never seen one before. The other animals dreamed about are the dog (4), the shark (3), the snake (3), and the crocodile (1). The dog usually occurs incidentally as the companion of the dreamer in various experiences, except for this very characteristic dream of the fears of childhood, which will arouse memories in most of us:

No. 78. Kikis (girl aged about 8 or 9).

I dreamed about a dog; the dog bit me, and I ran away; the dog ran after me; I dived into the sea, and swam out to the deep sea; then I came back to the shore and the dog ran after me again.

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159 The other animals are all such as are regarded with apprehension (except in the case of persons specially associated with them, as explained in pp. 524–7). One young man, who dreamed that he caught a snake and was bitten by it, had the day before actually caught a snake in the bush, and had pretended to frighten the other men by chasing them with it.

(*g*) *Going a journey.*

159 484 As will have been apparent from previous chapters, a good deal of moving to and fro among the various villages within reach goes on, either by walking or by canoe. Women as well as men participate in these excursions, and it is not surprising to find them represented in the dream-life of both sexes and all ages. The vicissitudes often experienced on such journeys are also present in dreams. They offer further evidence as to the frequency with which the 'manifest content' of the dreams in this collection is based on recent activities. The following is a typical example:

159 No. 53. Wasaman (boy aged 10 or 11, wearing *upi*).

I dreamed I went with Murē (an older man) and Wakuis (a boy about the same age as the dreamer) to Ieta in a *tfiniv* (dug-out canoe, not actually suitable for so long a journey, for which a *mon* would probably be used). The sun was just about to set, but Murē said we would go back. Wakuis and I said: 'The sun will have gone down directly, we can't go back to-night.' Then Wakuis said: 'Never mind, we will paddle hard and get as far as Tarongen and go ashore there for the night.' So we went to Tarongen. This was a pleasant dream.

The following contains a bizarre element:

No. 88. Patu (adult male).

I dreamed I was going along and I came to a big river; there was no bridge and no tree trunk. There was a snake lying in the river. I wanted to go across the river on the snake, just as if it had been a tree trunk. The snake shook, and I was afraid, and ran quickly and got across. This is a bad dream.

(*h*) *Falling from a height.*

In five of these, the fall is from a tree, in two from a cliff, and two are of falling in space. They occur to both sexes (all adult, except one adolescent girl). One is of an intentional jump from a tree. This is a recognized method of committing suicide and is apparently so intended in the dream.

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No. 35. Tchub (adult male).

I dreamed I climbed up to the top of a tree, and I jumped down, jumped down to the ground, and died, and the men carried me, and cried over me, and they brought me and buried me. This is a bad dream, I thought it was really true.

Another approximates to the 'flying dream', being told as follows:

No. 41. Wsang (adult male).

I dreamed I fell down a big cliff. I did not fall down quickly, I fell very slowly, and lay down gently (motioning with his hand to indicate gliding). I thought I should die, but I got up and was all right.

Of the other two, one would appear to belong to the class of dreams having actual physical symptoms as their basis. The woman was in an advanced stage of pregnancy at the time. The relevant portion is as follows (the remainder is concerned with the *wrar*):

No. 62. Komun (adult female).

I dreamed about an *wrar*; it bit me and ate me, while I was working, and I was afraid, and I fell, and kept on falling and falling and falling. Then I beat somebody, and then I went on, and went on, and went on, and then I lay down again, and lay, and lay, and lay. Then I stood up again, and went on, and lay down again, and fell again, and cried out: 'Wa-wa-wa-wa.'

The remaining case, in a dream of a fantastic nature, will be found on p. 581 (No. 59).

*(i) Climbing or going uphill.*

Of the seven dreams in this category, three are the same as those in category (*h*), the climb preceding the fall. Another is of climbing a mountain, and another of climbing a rope that went up into the sky.

The following will serve as typical of its kind:

No. 49. Takel (boy aged 6 or 7, wearing *sps*).

I dreamed a man wanted to beat me, and I climbed a tree, and he shot an arrow at me up in the tree; then he went away, and I came down and ran away, and the man looked for me but he could not find me. This is a bad dream.

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(j) *Sleep.*

The incidents involving sleep all occur as parts of longer dreams (see Nos. 79 and 13, pp. 553–4), and are listed separately merely as illustrating the occurrence of the natural functions of the body in the dreams of these natives. I have no instance of a 'dream within a dream', such as is known among ourselves, nor of the experience, very common in my own dreams, in which the sleeper is aware that he is dreaming.

(k) *Trying to move and being fixed to the spot.*

The usual form taken by this dream, which is, I believe, not unfamiliar in the same form among ourselves, is that the dreamer, being pursued by some one with evil intent, finds that his efforts to run away result in failure. One man's description conveys the effect very clearly: 'I tried to run away, and I moved my legs, but I could not move from the place where I stood; all the time I was beside the same house, and I could not get past it.'

All the five dreams of this kind in my collection happen to be those of adult males, but probably this has no significance.

(l) *Physical disabilities.*

I have grouped together under this heading the 'recollected' dream of losing all one's teeth, mentioned previously among the 'type dreams', a similar one in which a young man, rather vain of his personal appearance, dreamed that he had no hair on his head, and three dealing with skin disease, to which, as has been previously stated, these people are very prone. That there are not more dreams, even in this small collection, on this subject may perhaps reflect the comparative unconcern with which such troubles are regarded, it being a common thing for men and women to go about, and even to work, suffering from septic ulcers and other open sores which would completely incapacitate a white man, and to recover from conditions which, in the case of a white man, would, unless relieved by operation, undoubtedly lead to his death.

Examples are found on p. 564 (No. 9) and p. 556 (No. 52), where the stress is not on the sore but on the death of the sufferer, who, as a matter of fact, was actually an outstanding example of recovery under adverse conditions.

(m) *Urination and defaecation.*

In all four cases listed under this head the incidents referred to

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are part of longer dreams. They do not form the point of central interest in the dreams in which they occur, and were not the subject of special remark by the dreamers, as is perhaps to be expected in a community where the natural functions of the body are not matter for secrecy.[1] In view of the smallness of number I do not know whether any significance is to be attached to the fact that three out of the four incidents occur in the dreams of adolescent boys wearing the *upi*, the exception being that of an adult female (No. 64, see below). The dreamers just referred to are, of course, long past the age at which there could be any possibility of a 'latent period', as discussed by Dr. Seligman (1932, p. 212). In one dream (No. 48, p. 560) the element of the fantastic enters: 'I carried a long thing that looked like the excrement of a pig; it touched my skin and I stank.' At the end of a long dream about *urar* (No. 50, p. 554) it is reported that a man went out to relieve himself, and an *urar* caught him and took him to his hole. Another reference will be found in No. 52, p. 556.

(*n*) *Childbirth and suckling.*

The one dream involving childbirth is remarkable for the number of apparently unrelated incidents, for the numbers of individuals concerned in it, and for its reference to the customary dietary taboos in force under such circumstances. (See Chapter IV, p. 158.)

No. 64. Marotē (adult female).

I dreamed about a pig. Pirier (a neighbour) was standing by, and Gav's father (her brother-in-law, whose name she may not say) ran after a wild pig, and Tsonaian and I went up, and Pinari (her father, the most important person in the village) was angry with us because we frightened the pig, and the pig ran away into the bush. Then we went back.

Then Wakos (a widow, not connected with the dreamer) gave birth to a child, a very big baby, a boy, and Binas (one of her father's wives, not her mother) gave birth to a boy too, but Binas's baby was very small. I took the baby to his father and his father looked after him very well. Then Wasē (her brother) came, and the baby defaecated on Wasē.

Then Pinari called out to Wakos to eat bananas and coco-nuts, but

[1] The identification of faeces with money is not, of course, to be expected in a community where money is not used except in the case of the few young men who have received it as payment for work on plantations, and for the payment of taxes to the Government.

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159 Wakos said: 'No, I can't, they are forbidden because of the baby. The placenta is still inside my belly.' Then Pinari called Bios (the daughter of Wakos) to get some bananas out of the hole (where they are put to ripen). He said: 'You come here and get them. I am calling you to come and get bananas and eat them. So Binas went and fetched the bananas and ate them. The dreamer had no comments to make on this dream.

Both the dreams involving suckling are those of nursing mothers.

No. 75. Tahol (adult female).

I dreamed I was asleep, and Ora came, at night, and he put his hand over my mouth, and said: 'Sit still.' Then he took up Nomoin and pierced his septum, and Nomoin cried, and I said: 'Don't hurt my Nomoin, he is too small yet, he is crying.' I went and waited on the top of the cliff, then I went down to the shore, and went into the water, and stood up in the water, and cried out: 'Oh, my poor Nomoin.' Then I went back, and I could not bear to look at Nomoin, he was nothing but skin and bone. I tried to feed him, but I had no milk. This is a bad dream.

*Comments by recorder.* Nomoin is her only child, a boy of about nine months, of whom she is exceedingly fond. All the children have their noses and ears pierced by one of the older men, such as Ora, but not until they are much older.

The other dream consists of the single incident 'Wanias (her son, aged about 4) cried for my milk'. It was 'paired' with a terrifying dream that the dreamer was seized by *uiar*. Of her own accord the dreamer added: 'Perhaps Wanias will die', and this interpretation was confirmed from other quarters.

(o) *Going into water to wash.*

[515] In a community where personal ablutions are not necessarily a feature of the day[1] and where, for the most part, the act of washing, although it has a certain significance, plays a less important role in their ritual than it does among many primitive peoples, it is rather surprising to find its occurrence as a definite incident in dreams. It seems possible that it may serve as a symbol, for which reason the dreams in which it occurs are listed in this category.

One, part of the dream of a little girl (No. 85, p. 558), is merely a passing incident: 'We went to wash and to get water', the latter being a duty that devolves upon the small girls. Another is also

[1] It will be realized from the description given in Chapter I that it is not very easy to get down to the sea from this village.

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an incident in a long dream, but is noteworthy because of the emphasis laid on it: 'We washed in a river, and washed, and washed, and washed, and I sat down in the water and washed, and washed, and washed.' (No. 31, p. 580.) The remaining incident follows upon one of the 'running away' dreams (No. 60, adolescent girl): 'Some men ran after us, and we ran away, and we got away from them, and came to some water, and we went in and washed. When we had finished washing, we went back to our village.'[1]

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(p) *Flying.*

The occurrence of this dream has already been noted in the discussion 'type dreams'. In one, the dream of a pregnant woman, the description is more definite than such descriptions usually are: 'I went up in the air, my hands were waving about. I had nothing to take hold of. I said: 'What shall I hold on to?' But I did not fall down.

The other two were reported by men.

(q) *Ceremonies and dances.*

These dreams are apt to occur soon after a ceremony or dance has been held, and are clearly related to their actual prototypes, which are events of importance, productive of much pleasurable excitement. The one chosen to illustrate this category can be compared with an account of the actual ceremony (given in Chapter VII) with which it will be found to agree in such details as it presents. The selection of the incidents may be significant, of that I am no judge.

No. 36. Tchub (adult male).

I dreamed that I saw an *wur* figure; a man went inside it. It ran, and came up; then all the men kept silent, they did not shout out, they all looked at it. An *upi* was put on its head, a blue one. All the men looked on. It was a very fine *wur* figure that the man made. I thought it was true, and I cried out. Then all the men went away, and came back again, and they all shouted out. Then the *wur* beat all the *matsian* (boys who are to have their *upi* put on at this ceremony). Then all the boys with *upi* came up. The *upi* were put on the heads of the novices; the *wur* went away and hid; then it came up again, and they put on the *upi* with the pattern on it, and it came up again and everybody shouted. This is a good dream.

[1] The sea also figures in dreams as a place of refuge.

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## INFLUENCE OF WHITE CONTACT ON NATIVE DREAMS

The effect on dreams of the changes brought about by contact with whites, and of the conflict, conscious or unconscious, arising out of such contact, does not figure very largely in my collection of dreams from Kurtatchi. But it is seen in some dreams recorded on the island of Pororan[1] by Mr. Gordon Thomas, who kindly placed them at my disposal. Some of these are here given in illustration of this aspect of the subject.

Dreamed by Koran, Mission teacher, aged about 35.

I saw men coming down to the beach near the big calophyllum tree, and they looked across the lagoon towards the Mission station, and they asked me what was the matter with the houses at the Mission as they appeared to be all alight; glowing as with a fire. Afterwards I went in my canoe over to the Mission and met there the Fathers, with whom I shook hands. After I had shaken hands with them I asked a schoolboy there: 'Where are the Fathers going?' He replied that they were going to Bei (a mountain village about five miles away). I asked why the Fathers were going to Bei, and he replied that the natives there wished to make trouble with the Fathers, so the Fathers wished to visit them and punish them. The Fathers then held Mass and afterwards stood on the beach looking across at Bei point. While they looked they could see the *Marsina* (a small inter-island steamer) anchored there. The Fathers wished to board the mission schooner, but before they could reach the wharf the rain started, and they decided to remain at the Mission station.

At the end of a long dream concerning fishing, the following passage occurs:

There were several steamers anchored at the Kessa point, and there seemed to be a number of European houses there. I went ashore and the place seemed to be like Sydney. (The dreamer has never been in Sydney or any large city.) I met one of the Fathers here and we went aboard one of the steamers, and then on to another steamer. The weather was cold like it must be in Australia. I met another Father here and he told me to go and sleep in a bed. I went, and it was like a white man's bed and had a mosquito net. I pulled ten blankets over me as it was so cold. Then I went to church with the Fathers and they said Mass. When this was finished we had something to eat. It was good food from tins, like white people eat. When the food was finished we

[1] The island of Pororan, off the west coast of Buka, lies on the steamer route and is frequently visited by white people. It has had a resident native Mission teacher (Roman Catholic) for some years, and on the Buka coast, about five miles away, there is a Roman Catholic Mission station and school.

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went for a walk and looked at the ships. There were three ships and one of them was filled with all the children that had died. It was a long, low ship and there was a white man who was captain of it. Those on the beach said: 'What is that ship?' So I got into my canoe and went aboard a small boat and said to the captain of the boat: 'Whose boat is this?' The captain replied that it was the boat belonging to Mr. Cropp (the Methodist missionary in Buka). I went aboard the boat and ate some taro and drank coco-nut milk and had a smoke. I then went on board another ship, but there was nobody there. On this ship there seemed to be plenty of glass everywhere. The whole ship seemed to reflect light. I asked: 'Whose ship is the long low one?' And some one answered: 'It is not a ship of man: it is the ship of the dead children.' Then the ship that was filled with the dead children moved away. It glided like a bird. Then I woke up.

Another Pororan man dreamed thus:

I was seated on a wharf, watching the government yacht *Franklin* which was anchored near the wharf. Presently I noticed one of the mates go for'ard and supervise the weighing of the anchor. As the anchor was being fastened the vessel suddenly turned a complete somersault. The masts and funnel were completely submerged. It then righted itself. The accident was due to a rusty part of the vessel giving way and allowing the water to come inside.

I got a canoe and went towards the *Franklin* and on my way I met the captain, his wife, and the ship's cook. They were rowing ashore in a boat. 'Where is the boat's crew?' I asked the captain. He replied: 'They are down at the bottom of the sea together with your little daughter.' (The daughter in question had been dead for many years.) I said: 'I thought she was dead.' 'Only the body is dead,' replied the captain. Then the *Franklin*'s boat came along and tried to find a place to land. I shouted out: 'You go to Mr. Thomas's place.' The captain answered: 'I don't want to go to a white man's place. Can't you see that my skin is not white?' (The captain of the *Franklin* in reality is a white man, a retired naval commander.) The boat and a sailing canoe belonging to me then pulled the *Franklin* ashore at Pororan. The ship's cook then said to me: 'A basket that your daughter brought has been stolen. She hung it in the doorway of Mr. Thomas's store and some of the Lontis natives stole it.' (Lontis is a neighbouring district where the natives are not very friendly to the Pororan people.) The captain then said to me: 'Your daughter has gone with the ship and will stay there. It is the custom of the ship.' Then I woke up.

The same man dreamed on the same night:

I was working on a house that was being put up for two widows whose

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159 husbands had recently died (actually). Some of the men of the village came to me and said: 'Why do you work on this house?' I replied that I desired to do so. Then one of the widows came to me and said: 'We can pay you for the work which you are doing.' I continued working on the house. Then the same widow came to me and said: 'Do you like me?' I replied that I did not want her. She then proposed that we should have sexual connexion, but I replied that I could not do so for it would bother me in my confessional. She replied that that should not matter, but I resisted her advances and then I suddenly woke up.

### DREAMS DESIGNATED GOOD OR BAD

157 787 In many cases the dreamers did not have any definite idea whether a given dream was good or bad. In some they were quite clear upon this point, but were unable to give a reason for their decision. Such information as I was able to obtain is given at the conclusion of each dream quoted in the present chapter, but it is brought together here for convenience of reference.

A. *Good dreams.*

1. All dreams of cooking and eating pig are good, 'because we had pig to eat'. The only exception is a dream in which the *urar* cooked the pig, and the dreamer did not eat any because he was too frightened. This was a bad dream.

2. Dreams are described as 'good' even though their contents seem to us alarming, if the dreamer feels well when he wakes. (See No. 4, p. 555, and No. 48, p. 560.)

3. Dreams are regarded as good in which the dreamer triumphs over some difficulty. The fighting dream (No. 17, p. 566) was good 'because I was strong in the fight and killed the man'. Not expressly stated, but clearly present, is the idea of success in the following dream, which has not previously been quoted:

No. 73. Rus (adult female).

I dreamed a man wanted to have intercourse with me, and he pulled at me, and I fell down, and he called out to me, and I did not want to. Then we paddled in a canoe, and we went to the bottom because of a big wind, and we all drank sea-water; then we swam, and there was a strong wind, and the canoe was broken, and we carried it and brought it to the top of the water, and it was very heavy. It was all broken up, and we went ashore on to the reef, and then we went to the taro garden, and came back to the village at night when it was dark. This is a good dream.

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Perhaps the same idea, expressed in the triumph of the last sentence, 'then I took some rope and tied up the child', induced the teller of the fantastic dream given on p. 581 (No. 59) to describe it as a good dream, although it would hardly seem to have been pleasant to experience!

4. Certain simple 'wish-fulfilment' dreams are regarded as good, for obvious reasons, such as the 'money' dream (No. 15, p. 558). 'This is a good dream; I was glad; I thought I really had a lot of money.' The disappointment at waking and finding it was not true does not seem to be concerned in the matter. (This is also the case, I believe, in our own similar dreams.)

B. *Bad dreams.*

1. All dreams are bad wherein the dreamer is frightened. Here belong almost all the dreams about *urar*, with the few exceptions previously mentioned. For the same reason the 'falling' dreams are also bad. This is the reason most frequently assigned for describing a dream as a bad one. As one dreamer put it: 'It is always a bad thing to dream of being afraid.'

2. Dreams are bad if the dreamer feels ill when he wakes, even if their contents appear to be harmless or even pleasant. There would appear to be nothing sufficiently dreadful in the following dream to produce the effect described:

No. 80. Nawi (adolescent girl, aged about 12–13).

Waiar (a neighbour, slightly older than the dreamer) and I went to a village a long way off, and we saw a great many things, and I cried, and I picked some *purpur* (flowers or aromatic plants which the natives like to wear on their persons), and we sat down under the sun-shelter, and we ate *kokois* (ceremonial pudding, also given to guests), and we went back again, and I cried. Then Waiar and I went, the two of us, to a house, one house standing by itself. We waited there, we stayed some time there with a child, a very fine child. I cried for some *purpur* but the woman did not want to give it to me. Then we went back, and all the people were in a hole in the rock. Then we went back to the village. Then I woke up and felt ill. This is a bad dream, because I felt ill when I woke. If I had a good dream, when I woke I should feel all right.

3. To dream of the dead is usually bad. One dreamer commented: 'If I dream about people who are living, my skin is all right; if I dream about people who are dead, when I wake up my skin is no good.' An exception to this occurs in the dream of a

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159 787 woman that she was taken by *urar* to the place of the dead and saw her mother: 'This was a good dream; I was glad to see my mother.' One man said to dream of the dead means that the dead man wants to speak to you, another that it is a sign that the dead wish you to join them. 'To see them in a dream makes him frightened.'

4. It is bad for a mother to dream of her children, and is interpreted to mean that the child will die.

147 159 With reference to the dreamer's condition on waking, on which so much stress is laid by the narrators, it is probable that this may, in some cases at least, have an actual physical basis, due either to a mild degree of malaria, or possibly to indigestion or some kindred physical cause. As previously noted, dreams are apt to follow upon days of excitement, with which festive occasions a more than usually lavish supply of food is generally connected. But the word used is ambiguous, and does not necessarily mean actual physical sickness, but rather a feeling of 'malaise' which may be as much mental as physical. It is, indeed, a fact that no very clear distinction [828 826] is drawn between the two, for the seat of painful emotions, in the view of these people, is the stomach. The further implications of this 'affect' are discussed on p. 582.

## THEORETICAL DISCUSSION

154 Having now considered in detail the kind of incidents that occur in the dreams in my collection, it remains to discuss the significance of the collection as a whole. For this purpose it is convenient to adopt the classification proposed by Seligman (1923, p. 198), following Ernest Jones, which is as follows:

1. Dreams 'that are both sensible and intelligible, telling a connected story of the everyday world, the meaning of which is obvious . . . the mental processes resemble those of waking life'.

If we include dreams about *urar*, which are, as has been shown in other portions of this book, a very real part of the 'everyday world' to these people, the great majority of the dreams in my collection come under this head. As far as their 'manifest content' is concerned, they can be very simply related to recent happenings in the village, with which they are often connected by the dreamers themselves. It is noteworthy that there is no case which obviously goes back to the childhood of the dreamer, and but few relating to events long past. This agrees with the suggestion of Rivers (1923, p. 104): 'It is probable that dreams always arise out of recent

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situations, unless something has taken place which has aroused ancient conflicts and brought them again into prominence in the mind of the dreamer.' It was perhaps fortunate for the dreamers that I am not a trained psycho-analyst!

2. 'Dreams which tell or enact a connected story and have an evident meaning, but their contents, in whole or in part, strike us as unnatural, and we cannot fit them into the fabric of our waking life.'

Certain incidents in otherwise rational dreams bring them into this category. Two dreams illustrating this point, which have not previously been quoted, are here given:

No. 39. Togen (adult male).

I dreamed about a big *mos* (plank canoe); we caught a pig and put it in the *mos*, and we went ashore at a big village, and the people carried the *mos* to the bottom of a cliff, and we went up by a ladder (i.e. a notched tree trunk which is placed against the steepest rocks to enable them to be climbed) and the ladder waved from side to side (illustrating by motions of his hand) as we went up it. Then the people cut up the pig, and one man took pieces of the pig and took them to every house. This is a good dream. I thought it was true.

No. 61. Komun (adult female).

I dreamed an *awar* ran after me. I went up in the air, my hands were waving about, I had nothing to take hold of. I said: 'What shall I hold on to?' But I did not fall down. Then I made a noise like this (she illustrated by grunting and panting). Presently I was walking along the road with Pinari (her husband) and we went to the shore, and all the women were making coco-nut-leaf baskets. I went inside a hole and went to sleep. Then Pinari told me to tell the women to fill up the water coco-nuts[1] with pig's fat. I did not want to. I said: 'I don't want all the women to be angry and say bad things about me.' This is a bad dream. (The dreamer was unable to give any reason for saying so.)

3. 'Dreams of which the content is bizarre, confused, and nonsensical; such dreams often have a peculiar quality of unreality, and can scarcely, if at all, be related to waking thought. . . . Much

[1] These are the cleaned-out coco-nut shells which serve the women for water-bottles. They are much-cherished possessions, the more so as it is a matter of considerable time and trouble to remove the 'meat' through the 'eye' of the coco-nut. To defile them in the manner suggested in the dream would be gravely resented. It may be noted, in connexion with this dream, that the dreamer was at the time pregnant by a man other than her husband, and had been the subject of much gossip in the village, the more so because her husband is the most important foreman in the place.

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154 of the strangeness of these dreams is due to the symbolism used
●159 to express the dream thoughts.'

There are comparatively few dreams in my collection which clearly and definitely belong to this category. Since their symbolism may be of interest, the most complex of them are here given in full:

No. 31. Sobak (old male).

I dreamed an *urar* seized me, and brought me to a *sapatsun* tree, and the tree was just like a white man's boat; and it took me and brought me to a stone, and the stone was just like a boat too, and it made a noise like this (imitating the sound of an engine). Then the stone took me, and we went on and went on and went on, and came to another place, and the stone brought me to another tree, a *winoa* (almond). It took me to another place and brought me to a bread-fruit tree, and it was just like a boat too, and I went on it and it took me to another place. I thought it was really a boat, it looked just like one. Then all the *urar* took me and brought me to a coco-nut palm, and I stayed there and loitered for a little while; and then a *toras* tree came and took me, and I went on to the *toras* tree, and the *toras* brought me to another place, and I stayed there a little while; then the stone came and fetched me again, and it made a noise just like a boat, and it came and brought me to another place, and brought me to a *toan* tree, and the *toan* tree brought me to another place, and brought me to a mountain; and all the *urar* were killing a pig. They killed one pig, and I ate it; they made a feast with it. When we had finished eating, the *urar* took me again and brought me to another place, and we washed in a river, and washed and washed and washed, and I sat down in the water and washed and washed and washed. Then some one else fetched me and I went up on top of another tree, an *iwiŋ*, and the *iwiŋ* brought me to another place, and I sat down there, and then we went on again, and it brought me to another tree, an *ono*, and I went on again with the *ano*, and went and went and went and went, and it brought me to another place, where people were making *menak* (ceremonial pudding), and I ate *menak*, and ate, and ate, and ate, and when I had finished eating I went to sleep. Then I woke up again, and we went and went and went, and came to another place. They brought me to a hornbill, and I sat on the back of the hornbill, and it brought me to another place; we stayed a little while, and then went on again, and went and went and went, and came to my own village, and my leg hurt me. Then the *urar* took me again, and brought me to another tree, a wild areca-nut, and I wanted to go to sleep again in the bush, and I climbed up the areca-nut and went to the sheath (the hard fibrous covering round the young nuts). Then I looked for my knife, and could not find it. I got up very angry, and then I said: 'There is my house', and sat down in my own house.

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*Comments by the dreamer.* This is a good dream. The *urar* were those we called yesterday at the taro garden. When they brought me to the tree that looked like a boat they said to me: 'You sit down, you hold the rudder firmly with your foot.' When I woke up I thought of my knife, and I thought I had thrown it away into the bush the day before yesterday when I finished making *menak*. So I got up and went to look for it in the bush; didn't you hear me shut the door of my house? I looked for it in the bush, but I could not find it; then I came back and found it stuck in the rafters of the house.

*Comments by the recorder.* Sobak is my next-door neighbour, his house is barely 20 feet from my own. I had heard him go out in the night, and had wondered what he was doing. The ceremony referred to is the one described in Chapter IX in which he had played a part. Small articles such as knives, &c., are usually stuck in the rafters of the house for safe-keeping.

No. 59. Gomar (adult female).

I dreamed about a child, about as big as Waror (i.e. about 7 or 8 years old.) It (Waror is a girl, but from the pronoun used the sex of the dream-child is left undetermined) took me up and threw me up into the air, and I fell down on to the ground. Then the child took me up again and threw me again on top, and I cried out: '*Wa, wa, wa, wa.*' I fell down, and I took some dirt and made the child's face swell up; I covered its face with dirt. Then it ran after me, and took a stone and beat me, and I ran away and hid, and it ran after me, and I stood still and took a rope and tied the child up, and tried to shut it up but I could not, and it ran after me, and I trembled. Then it took another stone, and beat me again, and I called out: '*Ia, ia, Binas!*' Then Binas said: 'What are you fighting? You leave her alone, let her stay quiet; if you do it again I shall beat you.' So I ran away, and fell down, and hid, and I took some rope and tied up the child. This is a very good dream. I called out aloud in my sleep, and Pinari woke me up.

*Comment by recorder.* Gomar is Pinari's wife; Binas is another of his wives. The dreamer could give no reason why she considered this a good dream, but she was very definite about it.

Perhaps there should be included here a dream which comes the nearest of any in my collection to what we should call a nightmare. It took place during an illness, and its physical cause may well have been fever. It was related to me after the dreamer's recovery.

No. 42. Wasang (adult male).

When I was ill I saw something that had an axe; it had no hands, it was very fat, it had a mouth. It was very large, but when I came close up to it, it was small.